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RITUAL, LEARNING AND MEMORY: ENGAGING WITH MONUMENTS AT THE NATIONAL MEMORIAL ARBORETUM.

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Introduction

Memorial engagement, that is an interactive experience between a person and a created monument commemorating the dead, is a process which as a learning process and agent of change has been unexplored. Even further than this, multiple memorial experiences and the chain of encounters this would produce has not yet been theorised. As archaeologists, the further understanding of the role of memorials play in the lives, learning and world of the people engaging with them is vital to understanding the significance of the memorials themselves.

The National Memorial Arboretum (NMA) in Alrewas, Staffordshire, is a heritage centre containing an assemblage of over 240 individual memorials commemorating a wide range of groups and individuals. The NMA constitutes a complex intersection of memorial, museum, heritage centre and tourist attraction. Visitors to the NMA are exposed to a memorial landscape that is vast and intricate, characterised by memorial designs, mnemonic function, commemorated individuals and person engagement experiences.

This project will seek to explore the nature of personal engagement with memorials within the context of the NMA. What is it to encounter the commemorated here, how is that done? This will be achieved through the use of both previous theoretical viewpoints as well as first person accounts of the NMA itself. As has been said, the nature of these encounters is as yet unexplored and so we must look to other fields of study to borrow concepts which may clarify that activity found at the NMA. Two things are clear, people experience the NMA themselves and it is a set aside space for memorials to be engaged with. For this reason the review and application of concepts from the two separate and distinct areas of 'experiential

learning' and 'ritual space' will be revelatory with considered against what is observed at the NMA

A model of memorial engagement might then accumulate from this interrogation of the NMA as a setting, with learning and ritual theory being the magnifying glass. This model would not seek to define the NMA in whole, or to provide a detailed account of the contents of the NMA, but would seek rather to shed some light on the nature of what it means to encounter memorials here. In this manner, the account of the NMA will seek to be exemplary of what can be found at the NMA rather than representative of the NMA as a whole. Application of a model such as the one being aimed for may well allow a piece of work mapping the NMA's memorial landscape in full, but the model must first be developed. If this model is achieved, it may be useful then, within this project, to apply the model back to the NMA somewhat to observe or understand how a monument's placement within the NMA affects that memorial itself.

Literature Review

Part One: Development of 'experiential learning'

David A. Kolb is the writer that has clarified and popularised the theory of 'experiential learning' in the clearest and most definitive way. Through his early work with Rodger Fry (Kolb and Fry, 1975) the basis for a model of experiential learning was established, focussing on group learning environments in which experience could be used to generate ability or understanding by which to cope with or succeed in future similar situations. Kolb goes on to look at how individual learning styles impact learning (Kolb, 1976) and also how this can differ across professions or disciplines (Kolb, 1981). Most relevantly though, it is in the book 'Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development' (Kolb, 1984)

that Kolb outlines a model of experiential learning. That is, four stages passed through by a learner to understand their own experiences, and to apply them to their wider experiences and knowledge. The experiential learning model, as given by Kolb (1984, 21) is shown below:

Figure 1: Kolb's model of experiential learning

These four stages of learning have been widely accepted and recreated by a number of authors as universal mechanisms by which learners make use, or knowledge, of experience. This is shown by authors such as Gibbs (1998) and Dennison and Kirk (1990) creating of models explaining experiential learning derived from Kolb's, with only minor, incidental or aesthetic changes.

Kolb's ideas are rooted in a number of preceding theorists' work, most notably John Dewey and Kurt Lewin. Dewey presented his notions on experiential learning most specifically in two works; 'My Pedagogic Creed' (1897) in which Dewey promoted outlines his understanding of true education, promoting the idea of 'interaction' in education (rather than the passive receipt of knowledge) and 'Experience and Education' (1938) in which Dewey

more openly explains the positive educational and social outcomes for understanding a pupil's experience as a valid part of their learning process. Dewey argued widely for the individualisation of education, taking the learner's perspective into account, but it must be noted that all of his conclusions were intended for application in a classroom setting with school aged children (as in 'The School and Society' (Dewey, 1900), 'The Child and the Curriculum' (Dewey, 1902)). Dewey's conclusions on 'interaction' in education, as mentioned before, are echoed in later models of knowledge acquisition such as Carl Rogers 'Jug and Mug' (1990) and Paulo Freire's 'Banking Form of Education' (1970). Both of these models are critical of the 'giver-receiver' paradigm of formal education that Dewey's work also counters.

Lewin moves forward with the understanding that education does not need to centre on a 'have-have not' paradigm, and focusses on context or group based studies of learning. His solo-authored works focussed on the theoretical applications and outcomes of an individuals' educational mechanisms (1936, 1948, 1951), with focus on dealing with conflict in groups. Lewin's work with Lippett (1938) as well as with Lippett and White (1939) drew conclusions from observing constructed groups of children and looked towards identifying successful leadership styles for use with the groups; most notably the 'autocratic, democratic or laissez-faire' model (1939). Lewin does not go as far as to create a universal model for experiential learning, but heavily influenced Kolb's creation. In fact, the model commonly referenced to as 'Kolb's learning cycle' is given by Kolb as a summary of his understanding of Lewin's work, titled "Lewin's experiential learning model" (Kolb, 1984, 21). Kolb did create the model, but he does not claim to be the creator of the content.

Examples of how 'experiential learning' has been used in theory.

Education and therapeutic practice

The psychologist Carl Rogers worked with a theory of 'person-centred' learning which advocated elements of experiential learning. That is Rogers, in an effort to further explain the need for client-centred therapy, advocated a learning system by which learning is unique to each person. This is laid out in 'Client-centered Therapy: Its Current Practice, Implications and Theory' (1951, 384-429), in which Rogers directly states "We cannot teach another person directly; we can only facilitate his learning" (1951, 389). Rogers in his work as a psychologist is not looking to create an educational model, but applies this tenant of experiential learning to the clinical context of his work.

Rogers' focus shifted, however, with the publication of 'Freedom to Learn' (1969) which discusses directly the type of education that a state school can and should provide. Again, the focus is not on experiential learning but on working against 'giver-receiver' models of education. Rogers' work, including the subsequent two editions of the same title (1983, 1994) has been influential in the re-thinking of formal education, advocating aspects of experiential individual learning. Rogers' work influenced prolific writers such as Smith in his considerations of the social and political aspects of learning (1980, 1984), Jeffs and Smith's efforts to clearly define an 'informal' model of education with 'conversation' at its centre (2008, 2011) and Bernard Davies' observations and suggestions on promoting peer-peer education in group settings (1975), all of whom are advocates for informal education being brought into mainstream settings.

Reflective practices

Another application of experiential learning in theory can be seen in Boud, Keogh and Walker's (1985) model of reflection. For the authors reflection is a prerequisite to learning, and their model advocates a focus on the primary experience of the learner to come to a new understanding of their own experience. The approach is given in three stages:

- Returning to experience.
- Attending to (or connecting with) feelings.
- Evaluating experience. (1985, 26-31)

Both experience and emotion are included in this model of reflection, which is a move away from cognitive approaches to learning and thinking (such as Dewey's 'How we think' (1933), which sets out 5 mind-sets for students try to achieve so as to learn in the classroom more effectively). Boud et al. (1985) do not suggest stages of learning from experience, only areas to be focussed on when people "recapture their experience, think about it, mull it over and evaluate it" (1985, 19). This aversion to universally applicable stages is seen in Jarvis' 'Adult learning in social context' (1987) in which Jarvis uses Kolb's model of experiential learning (Kolb, 1984, 21) to explore the importance of the context of that learning. Jarvis concludes that context is the key factor in encouraging experiential learning, and that applying a set of stages to learning universally is highly problematic because of this.

Transformative learning

Mezirow (1991) looks at the process of making meaning from experiences. This is set aside from learning and is considered as the 'transformative dimension' of experiential learning. The key for Mezirow is that perspective is transformed when meaning is drawn from an

experience, and that a person finds themselves different from before the learning was done; with a new view of the world. This echoes Turner's explanation of how ritual causes a person to change and Freire's understanding of education raising a critical consciousness. Turner (1969, 1987) lays out a framework of ritual learning by which people leave the structure they are part of, re-form in a state of 'liminality' (coming from 'limen' meaning threshold), in a state of anti-structure which Turner refers to as 'communitas' (outside of the power structures of their usual world) and re-enter the world as changed. This three stage process of transformation and learning has been explored in the context of several archaeological studies, with application to a range of memorial settings (Parker Pearson, 1993; Gramsch, 1995; Hill, 1998). The transformation is separate from any learning that may be done; the person has moved within the structure they live in whether or not they have learned anything about that world or themselves. Freire's (1973, 1975) understanding of learning is that the learner transforms and so becomes more aware of their position in relation to those around them. Through a learning experience the learner must examine and recreate their understanding of themselves as well as the world that is holding them, this is how learning can be seen as meaningful (and transformative). In all three of these examples, even though the specifics vary, it is the learner/ritualist that changes rather than their surroundings.

Part Two: Ritual Spaces

There is an inherent difficulty in discussing 'ritual spaces', in that there is underlying disagreement concerning what constitutes a ritualised arena and what may be 'normal' space in which ritual could occur. A foundational work in ritual studies which grapples with this problem is Smith's 'to take place: towards theory in ritual' (1987). This work, alongside Smith's earlier formative work 'The bare facts of ritual' (1980) makes use of a number of compared ritual case studies to explore the point at which 'empty action' becomes meaningful ritual.

Due to Smith's own concerns regarding comparative analysis of individual rituals across contexts, no solid framework is formed. Regardless of this, Smith does make it clear that we must approach possible ritual arenas with an understanding that there is an irrevocable split between ritual and action. Ritual can be accessed when we make use of the 'lens of ritual space', with intentionality and understanding of purpose being key components of ritual, but beyond that there is no assistance in solving the non/ritual space dilemma.

Grimes (1999) gives an excellent overview of Smith's wider contribution to the field of ritual studies, whilst reinforcing the non/ritual split. He gives the example of sacred native burial remains being kept in Western museums, being treated "profanely by scientists working in profane places" (1999, 266). Despite this, Grimes concludes his summary of Smith's contributions with a table giving criticisms of Smith's definite separation of the sacred and the profane; each point by Smith meeting a somewhat uncreative rebuttal, in that no further theorisation is offered other than pointing out the Smith has not covered the complexity of ritual engagement in his conclusions. Grimes admits that he is not looking to suggest a new framework, only to suggest that things might be more complicated than Smith had presented them to be.

Rather than trying to tackle the same problem, whilst exploring the theoretical context, I will look to categorise the various theoretical understandings of ritual space. The theory is disparate and often disconnected, exploring ritual in a specific location, time or setting, and so the categories are necessarily broad. Firstly, understandings of 'spaces constructed to promote ritual' and secondly, 'spaces claimed by ritual'.

Spaces constructed to promote ritual – some examples.

Iconography as a prompt to ritual is documented by Bloch-Smith (2002) in relation to Solomon's temple. Bloch-Smith uses descriptions from the Hebrew Bible in conjunction with archaeological data sets to draw conclusions on the effect of decoration and layout of the temple to promote both ritual and societal identity. Bloch-Smith concludes that the Temple space is specifically constructed for ritual use, and so ritual continues as the space is used. The space and the ritual are so intertwined that one means nothing without the other, both signal the other in their active reliance on it; the space, and its component design and decoration, finds significance through the ritual just as the ritual does through being in that space.

The theory of encouraging ritual through space design is wide spread, as the example of Joiner's work on creating professional 'ambience' in the workplace shows (1971). He draws on Wilson's (1967) work to explore how spaces supplement human action, and can be manipulated to suggest, facilitate and even forbid actions. This seemingly 'empty' practice of pragmatic office design, according to both Joiner and Wilson separately, is a space construction intended to direct social ritual to achieve a desired result. From courtrooms to doctor's waiting rooms, spaces are constructed and people respond accordingly.

The most unexpected offering of ritual coming from space might be that given by Moore (1980), in which a description of Disney World Florida is given as being a 'bounded ritual arena' and the site of 'social, playful pilgrimage'. Moore argues that Disney World has been built as a playful shrine, and that visitors are encouraged to see themselves as visiting the 'Mecca' of fun. Through shared activity, symbolic recall, use of myth and suggested rites of passage, visitors engage in socially defining ritual. This argument relies on a tenuous link between ritual and play as both being "rooted in our mammalian past" (1980, 207) but still

claims that the very much constructed, and most importantly bounded, space of Disney World promotes ritual. The boundary of the park provides a resource to create an environment inside the park which is anticipated by those on the outside. That is to say that the bordered space is more significant because it is definitely finite; a person must go there to experience the 'magic'.

Lastly, Christopher Tilly writes about how landscape forms ritual practice as well as monument placement and interaction (1996). He explores examples from Bodmin Moor to show that the topography of a landscape directly affects the ritualised spaces and their use. He shows that moving through a landscape, somewhat at the direction of the landscape itself, provides direction on use of and association to different ritual spaces within that landscape. This is not a created space, but nonetheless is an example of ritual practice, or encounter, being defined and shaped by the space that it is inhabiting.

Spaces claimed by ritual – some examples.

An American blood donation centre may seem to be a totally ritual free environment of clinically necessary actions and little ritual intention, but Bennett (2008) claims that by not accepting gay men's blood the system is excluding those men from a socially affirming ritual. Queer men must choose, to lie or leave. But no valid admission to the ritual of offering blood is available. Bennett does not explore whether the ritual would be perceived at all were the barrier to it not there, but promotes the activity as a valid ritual in public space.

On a pilgrimage, ritual space is being aimed for. Travelled towards; the shrine side. However, Madeleine (2001) argues that ritual space is created on the journey of the pilgrimage. It is 'mobile ritual space', and you can construct it wherever you conduct ritual on the way. Or not even that, because being on pilgrimage is ritual in itself. Where you go, ritual

space goes. There is no consideration of conflicting spaces, possibly a positive of the space being so mobile. That being said, mobile ritual space has never been as mobile as in Timberg's 'Television Talk and ritual space: Carson and Letterman' (1987). Timberg argues that by engaging with these 'star-hosts' viewers are engaging in a ritual, wherever they are, that affirms both parties' social standings. This does not require a personal like to the presenters of these television programmes, only an engagement in the broadcast. Engagement places both parties within a social structure.

Catherine Bell's highly influential work, 'Ritual theory, ritual practice' (1992) informs a range of considerations regarding ritual. Her only mention of ritual spaces, however, in this now foundational work is to say that 'ritual actions' are linked to their environments because they shape those environments (100). This is in reference to bodies in ritual, and the ritualised body in place, but the point is clear – rituals will forge their spaces.

Carol Duncan has written widely on the topic of ritual in public art galleries. Her progressing work is a good example of the problems when discussing ritual in shared spaces. Her first writing on the topic was with Alan Wallach (Duncan and Wallach, 1978) in which they criticised the Modern Museum of Art (MOMA), New York, as being a thinly veiled capitalist construct, one which was not robust enough to resist the rituals of the outside world so as to create its own separate space. Together they claimed MOMA attempted to be a 'nowhere space' but that the public brought the outside world with them. This is echoed by Duncan's 1991 chapter which examines rituals of citizenship in art galleries, stating that those educated enough to interact with the exhibits could access a socially identifying ritual. That classification is brought with you through the front door, and the gallery can do nothing to resist. However, Duncan does a complete U-turn by the time she writes her 1995 book

‘Civilising rituals inside public art galleries’ in which she states that “a ritual site of any kind is a place programmed for the enactment of something” (1995, 11). She goes on to say that the ritual could be unrecognised by others but still prompted by an object or objects on display. Construction, it now seems, is necessary to promote ritual in the gallery.

Lastly, Kapferer’s exploration of the transformation of ritual context gives a conclusion which sits directly on this particular fence; he states that changes to a ritual space both reflect and produce ritual context (1979). Ritual claims the space, and through being changed the space produces further ritual.

Part Three: National Memorial Arboretum and memorial function

It would be useful here, for the purposes of accessing a body of work that is separated into distinct periods of study and often not looking to make universal or even cross-country conclusions, to look specifically at works regarding the NMA and then other work that is relevantly linked.

Memorial use at the National Memorial Arboretum

For the entirety of the work on this topic, all credit is due to Paul Gough and Howard Williams; a visual artist and an archaeologist respectively who have been the only critical voices to address the NMA as a single site, as an assemblage of memorials that can be seen as a whole and as individual memorial works. To track their four major contributions on the topic is to understand the evolution of understanding of the site.

In 1998 Gough published the article “Memorial gardens as dramaturgical space”, an article which does not reference the NMA directly, but in which foundational ideas for approaching the NMA are put forward. Gough looks at two Canadian war memorials, one in London and one in Caen, France, in order to better understand the pressures by which they were created. Gough observes that there are two major forces at work within a memorial garden;

nationalistic will for loss to be remembered and the individual rememberer making use of the space. Gough concludes that this combination of will and engagement creates an active, 'dramaturgical' space in what may be seen as a static garden of memory.

These same pressures of wilful commemoration and the want to engage with memorials is further explored by Gough in 2004, with a study of Lloyds TSB's project to commemorate those employees that lost their lives during World War I. Gough explores the need of the corporation to relocate memorials as the company experiences changes, and details the unsuccessful pursuit of the corporation to deposit memorials at the NMA, a "repository for national memory" (2004, 449). In brief, Gough comments on a number of elements of the NMA:

- The young arboreal setting provides "analogies between human existence, the fragility of nature and ... 'cyclic regeneration'" (2004, 449).
- Individually dedicated memorial gardens within the NMA constitute "theatres of memory" (2004, 449).
- Designs will not have grown before the death of the designers ((2004, 449) see Hunt, 2001, 20)
- The NMA fits Foucault's description of a 'heterotopia', a space in which time, meaning and memory work differently in this "single, utopian space" (Gough, 2004, 449; Foucault, 1968)

Gough (2005; later as 2009) revisits the NMA to explore the space as a "full" space, at the point at which the trees of the arboretum were growing but the number of monuments was not. The themes of his 2004 article are re-explored in the context of a now more formed NMA, with the conclusion on the site's efficacy being that we'll know more in time. As the trees

grow, so will our understanding of what this space, and the memorials it holds, are being used for. He asserts that the NMA constitutes an “attempt to slow the real anxiety of erasure to ‘stop the clock’ so as to preserve the eternal” (2005, 12).

The next publication on the topic of the NMA is Williams’ article exploring the use of ‘antiquity’ in memorial creation (2014a) which draws heavily on Gough’s work on the NMA and also makes use of the published visitor guidebook (NMA, 2012) as a primary source. Williams looks at the use (or reuse) of a variety of resources or themes (trees, soil, stones, the heavens and antiquity) in the assemblage of memorials which are contained within the NMA. This web of interconnected meaning serves not only to create the NMA as a memorial to the UK on a number of levels, but links the sharing monuments together through their use of these themes. The memorials are bound by symbol, and yet distinct in themselves. Significance, or a pointing towards, is an important concept within this article; there is as much signifying other memorials within the NMA as there is signifying subjects on the outside.

Williams goes on to publish a subsequent article (2014b) which explores the monument and material reuse in memorial creation at the NMA. Williams explores the site and categories four different types of monument or material reuse:

- 1) Relocated First World War memorials and other military memorials that are simultaneously commemorative of their original subjects and of themselves
- 2) Memorials to military defeats and military defensive actions
- 3) Prisoner-of-war memorials
- 4) Peace memorials

Through contributing material or whole monument relocation, each category has its own trend in how part of it belongs outside of the NMA. The web of associations created between the NMA and commemorated locations elsewhere through these appropriations, Williams concludes, makes the NMA much more complex than a graveyard or war memorial; it is claiming its place as the centre for UK memorial and even commemorating commemoration itself (2014b, 99).

Other relevant work

As I've said, much of the literature regarding memorial function focusses on a specific time or people. The more universal theory has contributed to the archaeological approach to the NMA (Williams 2014a; 2014b) as well as Williams' earlier work regarding monument use and reuse (2006, 145-147) which gives an excellent overview of the more far reaching conclusions made by a number of writers on the nature of monuments and their use. Williams here creates an overview of monument considerations, from links to wider social systems to traversing temporal space, before returning to his focus of the early medieval period in Britain. Whilst it would be mere reproduction to list Williams' referencing work here, a number of the writers surmised in this singularly comprehensive passage will be held in abeyance for future reflection and application within this project. Most relevantly, topics include monuments as social signifiers (Hope, 1997; 2003; Barrett, 1993), monuments linking the future to the past (Holtorf, 1996) and monuments taking on different roles over time (Holtorf, 1996; Moreland, 1999).

The idea of a 'field' of influence being created by monuments either acting alone or in conjunction with each other is one that is both useful and has been built on a little in the literature. Barrett describes "fields of discourse" being created by monuments when engaged with, which encourage particular action, or ritualised response (Barrett, 1994). Harris and

Sørensen's (2010) conceptualisation of "emotive fields" created through the insertion of relocated or reused memorial material into a memorial landscape can be seen as a continuation of that same idea. To return to Barrett's vocabulary, if a 'field of discourse' is created by monument engagement, then when the monument is relocated or reused that discourse must continue, transformed, in the new landscape. It is an emotive link to its past place and purpose, as well as now contributing to the new memorial landscape.

Methodology

Individual memorials and monuments are imbued with their own mnemonic function, and to engage with a memorial is to maintain the efficacy of the monument itself. This is no different at the NMA, the only caveat to that being that within the NMA (through placement and inclusion) mnemonic power is being mobilised in some way.

The methodology of this project exploring the NMA's mobilisation of monuments will be deliberately simple and straightforward; observation of the NMA will be made through number of first person field visits, from the perspective of a visitor within the site. This will allow a picture to be created of the site as a whole, the monuments sitting within the NMA in situ as well as the experience of moving through the arboretum; between, around and through the individually placed monuments. Individual memorials will be engaged with, looking to describe the different types of memorial engagement promoted within the NMA and this will involve some individual description of memorials. The focus here will be to create a description of the NMA as a single entity, which is not to say as a sum of its memorial parts but as a single assemblage and display with many facets. In doing so, three different aspects of engaging with the NMA will be explored:

- How does a visitor move through and around the site?

- How does placement of memorials affect engagement with those memorials?
- How are individual memorials approached and engaged with?

Over a number of visits to the NMA, I will take notes of my observations in engaging with the site. I will make use of digital photographs taken during these visits. I will present my collected findings as descriptive answers to the above questions, and if other relevant observations are made I will present these in acknowledgement of their lack of place within the questions.

As I have said, the approach here is deliberately simplistic and straightforward. It is important here to keep a broad view of the NMA, as well as of the monuments contained within it. Detailed physical description of the monuments has proved useful for other studies involving the NMA, both of which are by Howard Williams, which looked to explore symbolic use (2014a) and memorial reuse and replacement (2014b) within the NMA. I am not looking to analyse or discuss the physical form or characteristics of individual memorials in any depth, and so will not be making descriptions of monuments as can be found in the two studies mentioned. Instead focus on individual memorials will be done to provide a description of the range of memorial interaction or methods of engagement. That being said, Williams' method for creating the descriptions mentioned is almost identical to my own; first person observation, viewpoint of an NMA visitor, making use of textual description and digital images. As Williams observed, the park has evaded critical archaeological engagement (2014a, 5) and so still requires rudimentary exploratory techniques so as to be able to critically engage with it. These descriptive and observational methods are not distinctly archaeological, as observed by Williams also (2014a), but remain relevant solely due to their subject. The questions I will be asking of the description I create are broad, and so to be most useful the description itself must be broad as well. Whilst future explorations of the site may well

demand a far more specific and categorical breakdown of the contents of the site, that manner of cataloguing would hinder this project's ability to discuss the site as a whole.

To be clear, this study is looking to create a broad description of the NMA and the memorials in place within it from the viewpoint of a visitor. That is to say there are many things this study is not trying to do; explore the biographies of individual memorials, explore the historical development of the NMA, explore the material culture of maintenance associated with a woodland environment, or explore the material culture associated with tourism (including the commercial branding of the NMA itself). The need for this distinction shows the potential for further study of the site not yet undertaken, but my goal in exploration must be distinct from these areas.

Findings

How does a visitor move through and around the site?

The NMA is a vast site, containing open grassy areas, enclosed memorial gardens and set aside enclosures accessed via a single route. Moving through the arboretum is a task left to the visitor, in that it there are many paths leading to different areas. There is no one single route, rather it is for the visitor to decide what they would like to see, or at least what they like the look of. The main paths lead to groupings of memorials, there is the avenue of similar memorial gardens, the main path that leads away from the visitor's centre around the back of the site towards the river, another path leading down the river itself – all of these circumnavigating the large, raised Armed Forces memorial which stands at the centre with paths leading to it.

There are many instances where going across the grass is preferable, many memorials are situated in the middle of the grass and this leaves access to the mercy of the elements.

Rain means that the grass often floods or becomes very boggy – this gives the sense that the site is a natural one, rather than constructed. This undirected travel through this memorial landscape, the onus being on the visitor, gives the sense that each person has their own visit. That the choice is yours as to what you wish to engage with. The two notable exceptions are the 'Far East Prisoner of War Building' which serves as a more formal museum with exhibits to be viewed in order, and the use of the land train which provided guided tours around the site for visitors that buy tickets from the visitor's centre.

How does placement of memorials affect engagement with those memorials?

Memorial placement seems to be split into three main categories, arboreal, open memorials and enclosed memorials:

Arboreal

These are memorials comprised of the dedication of young trees within the site. This is a prevalent mode of commemoration within the site, as could be supposed by the site's name. That being said, these memorials are definitely not the most prominent on the site. The site is an arboretum, and yet that seems to only overshadow the memorials attached to many of these trees. There seems to be two reasons for this. Firstly, the sheer number of dedicated trees is very large. With these numbers comes a certain anonymity, this of course is not true for the person coming to the NMA for the purpose of remembering the person a particular tree is dedicated to – but if no tree holds prior significance for a visitor it is likely engagement with any one will be incidental. Secondly, these trees are planted in regular spacing, meaning that people passing on pathways will often only observe the memorials on the trees in the first couple of rows. Again, this similarity of both tree and memorial means that few people venture in to engage with a memorial in the middle of a group of trees.

Open memorial

These are memorials either placed alongside pathways (more common on the far side of the park from the visitor centre) and those placed in grassy areas, which can only be accessed by people walking off of the paths. These open memorials are engaged with by a large number of people, that is to say that they may be engaged with or observed by people as they pass by. Also, many of them can be seen from a distance, meaning that a person may be able to see a large number of memorials from one spot. As I've said, this locational category receives a high instance of encounters from 'passing trade' but engagement can be fleeting or momentary.

Enclosed memorials

These memorials are placed either in individual memorial gardens (such as the SANDS memorial) or in a set aside area accessible by one directed route (such as the Shot at Dawn memorial or the Armed Forces memorial). As can be seen from the descriptions of these individual memorials (see below) the nature of these enclosed spaces means that



*Figure 2: Avenue of enclosed memorial gardens
Photograph: Callum Hogg, April 2014.*

engagement with the subject of the memorial seems to be the only option of the person entering.

Despite the Armed Forces Memorial's classification here as an enclosed memorial, it does stand apart. The memorial is raised on a grassy mound, meaning that it is usually visible from the viewer's position in the site. This could go some way to break the 'enclosed' nature of the memorial; it becomes more 'open' purely through being visible.

How are individual memorials approached and engaged with?

Four examples of memorials are given here, to provide a range of methods of approach and engagement with individual monuments. This range has proved exemplary enough to describe the variety of engagement methods contained within the NMA.

'Shot at Dawn'

The Shot at Dawn is a memorial located at the farthest East point of the site. Interestingly, this area is one of the only places in the park from which the Armed Forces Memorial is not visible; even when the trees are without leaves they obscure that memorial from sight. Signposts lead the visitor down a single path away from the main routes leading to the rest of the park. As one follows the path, a clearing is come upon within which stands the Shot at Dawn memorial. The clearing in which the memorial stands forms a dead end, meaning that if there are large numbers of people you are forced to gather together, unlike



*Figure 3: Individual soldier's information on memorial post
Photograph: Callum Hogg, March 2013*

most other points in the park where movement past monuments is possible. The memorial itself has two distinct features; the posts and the statue. There are 306 wooden posts arranged in a way that resembles an amphitheatre; they are set out in a semi-circle and increase in height towards the back. Each post has a small plaque attached, each in the same uniformed style. The plaques each list the name, rank, age, regiment and date of death of an individual, although some of the plaques are incomplete – usually missing the age of that person. None of the plaques stand out or have any feature that would draw attention to it rather than the others, they are a crowd.

If the posts are arranged as an amphitheatre, then in the area that would be the stage is stood a white stone statue depicting a person standing with their back to the posts, blindfolded and with their hands bound behind their backs. The memorial is oriented as such so that as you enter the clearing the statue is facing you, with the posts and information plaques fanning out behind.



*Figure 4: Shot at Dawn statue in front of 'amphitheater' of posts
Photograph: Callum Hogg, March 2013.*

There is an information board at the entrance to the clearing, informing you that each post gives the details of a man shot for a crime (such as cowardice) by British forces during World War 1. There is information on the campaign to have these men pardoned, of which this memorial formed a part. To find out about the men, you are forced to walk amongst the posts to read the plaques. To describe the posts as a uniformed crowd becomes even more fitting when they surround you. The curved nature of the posts' layout means that no matter where you are within the posts the white statue of the man waiting for his death at the hands of his own army is always a focal point. The statue has no written information attached, and yet standing in front of it having learnt its significance creates an understanding of the monument's purpose and the statue gives a face to the names shown on the posts.

Leaving the clearing the only way out is the path used for entrance and the memorial is quickly out of sight, hidden by the trees surrounding the clearing. It is not a memorial that can be engaged with from afar.

[Armed Forces Memorial](#)

The Armed Forces memorial is visible from many areas of the park, and acts as somewhat of a central point around which the rest of the site unfolds. The memorial is raised on a mound which also gives the impression of centrality and importance, couple that with the monument's size (43 meters in width) and the memorial becomes a presence that draws attention. Two semi-circular walls create the monument's outer boundary, with steps up the grassed mound leading up to a gap in these. Within there are two straight walls which do not join the outer walls, this creates a central rectangular area with two semi-circular areas on each side. There is an obelisk at the far end of the central rectangular area which is taller than all of the surrounding walls, meaning that the metallic tip of the obelisk is visible from outside the boundary walls.



*Figure 5: Armed Forces Memorial, from the front
Photograph: Callum Hogg, March 2013.*

The inner straight walls and the outer curved walls are both engraved with the names of deceased servicemen and women, the names being split both into the year of death and the service served in; 'Royal Navy', 'Royal Air Force' and 'Army'. These names run in columns from wall to wall, creating a complete list dating from 1945 to the present day (the last engraving currently is 2013).

Reading through the list of names involves moving through both the semi-circular spaces as well as the central rectangular space. The outer wall within the semi-circular space to the right as the monument is entered is mainly blank, this is the space that will be filled with new names as time goes on.



*Figure 6: The curved engraved wall, also showing the large blank space awaiting new names
Photograph: Callum Hogg, March 2013*

In the central rectangular area, against the two straight walls that form it, stand two bronze sculptures depicting scenes of the loss of military personnel. Both show aspects of loss, with family crying or service personnel injured, but the depiction of the aiding troops is one of strength.

Between these two sculptures lies a bronze wreath, a sculpture which stands at the very centre of the large monument. This wreath is a permanent depiction of the commonly recognised wreaths lain here and at other memorials across the country to commemorate the war dead.

The only discrepancy in the direct symmetry of the monument, other than the two different bronze sculptures, is a break in the two right-hand walls (as the monument is entered). In both the curved outer wall and the straight inner wall on the right of the monument, there is a small gap. The monument is designed in such a way that a beam of light should fall on the wreath at the centre at 11am on November 11th each year during the annual Remembrance Day service. An inscription on the wall explains this, and is the only explanatory information.



Figure 7: Obelisk and wreath sculpture in the central rectangular area of the memorial
Photograph: Callum Hogg, April 2014.

Engaging with the monument itself is an interesting thing; it is clear that reading the names, moving down the list, appreciating the situation of the people depicted in the sculptures and identifying with the symbology of the wreath are all clearly accessible interactions. But with this monument, it is possible to be inside of it without doing any of those specific actions of engagement. It is a large space inside of the outer walls, and there is no set out path to follow, no suggested method on what to do. Engagement here may come from just being shut off from the rest of the site, from the rest of everything. By entering the memorial there is engagement, even with no further or recognised action.

The SANDS memorial

The SANDS memorial is accessed through a front gate which is closed after entry. The gate leads to a narrow path, covered by wood chipping and bordered by stones which have been painted with the names, ages and date of death of individuals – as well as painted for decoration. A sign at the beginning of the path explains that the path is an area in which people may bring decorated stones to be left as a memorial to children who died either during childbirth or pregnancy. The same sign also says that Sands is the ‘still birth and neonatal death charity’. There are many painted stones bordering the path, which is enclosed by hedging. Following the path as it bends means that forward and backward is not visible beyond a few feet; the stones are given prominence through sheer seclusion of the observer.

The path leads to an opening, also bordered by high hedging and other shrubbery, within which sits a stone sculpture of a very young child lying on its side on a stone table. The stone table is in the middle of an eye shape that has been cut into the grass that covers the enclosure. Next to the eye is a tear drop, fixed into the grass and made from blue plastic.

There are benches in the clearing, with the same eye and tear drop design engraved into them. It can be seen from the signage at the entrance gate that this symbol is the charity's logo. On many visits, there have been flowers and cards left on the stone table next to the young child (fig. 8).



Figure 8: Sculpture of child in SANDS memorial
Photograph: Callum Hogg, April 2014

Like the shot at dawn memorial, the entrance is the only exit. The path is narrow and so if there are many people it becomes very tight on the path making the clearing a natural area to be drawn to. The focal point of the clearing is the sculpture of the child, it is raised from the ground and seemingly the only thing of wilful design.

There is contrast between the path and the clearing; one is more open and one is very much enclosed, one promotes directional movement and one is a dead end, one contains personal memorials dedicated to individuals who are often named whereas the child at the centre of the crying eye is nameless. Or, perhaps, could take any name.



Figure 9: Wider shot of the SANDS memorial garden
Photograph: Callum Hogg, March 2013

Children's Memorial Woodland Area

The children's memorial area is signposted from many of the main paths. There is no gate to it, but you pass along a path which has young trees planted to the right. Many of these trees have dedications to children that have died, both recently and many years ago. Farther down the path, in an open visible clearing, there are picnic tables, a play area and benches. Often people bring their lunch here, or sit whilst their children play on the built in play equipment. To the side of the play equipment is a sculpture of a tree, onto which are fixed brass leaves engraved with the names of children that have died. The space is multi-faceted, with a range of memorials and also play equipment, picnic benches that seem to be outside of the memorial sphere of intent.

The river, and the path that runs along it, provide a natural boundary to the area. This open seemingly recreational space does not suggest purpose, meaning or even direction of travel. No engagement suggested, but only left possible.

Discussion

Experiential learning and the NMA

Turner's three stages of ritualised learning and change (1969, 1987) are reliant on an understanding of the world as being made up of connections and relationships. Not only to people, but to place, social rank, structures of power and our place within those systems. The three stages can be seen in action through observing the memorial practices evident at the NMA. The three stages of learning can most evidently be observed in the enclosed memorials that have a single entrance; the individual memorial gardens one of which is the SANDS memorial and the Shot at Dawn memorial are particularly good examples with which to observe Turner's stages in action.

Application of Turner's three stage ritual process to the NMA

Two contrasting, documented memorials have been chosen to be explored by Turner's description of a three stage ritual learning process:

Stage 1: Separation from the structured world

Memorial gardens: each memorial garden is enclosed by fences, gates and hedging, with many of the contained memorials only being visible by a person entering or observing from the entrance side of the garden. By entering into the closed space of the memorial garden, by passing through the gated entrance and into a dedicated space it can be seen that another space has been left.

Shot at Dawn: the location of the memorial means that it must be travelled to or sought out, it is at the farthest East point of the park and signposts lead visitors to it. The single curved path, surrounded by trees, means that the rest of the site is goes out of sight as you move towards the monument. From the monument's space, no other memorials or spaces can be seen.

Stage 2: Engagement in a 'liminal' or 'anti-structured' space

Memorial gardens: the gardens are designed to reflect the memorials it holds, or the needs of the people visiting them. Practical provision such as benches for sitting and paths directing to different areas or aspects of the garden, information plaques dedicated to explaining the memorial's significance both aesthetically and mnemonically and landscape design all serve to create a dedicated space. The space is not only dedicated to the monument, but to facilitating engagement with it. It is this dedication that resists external structures or considerations; other than those incited through engagement with the memorial.

Shot at Dawn: the spatial nature of the memorial, requiring either stationary regard of the statue or moving through the posts dedicated to the executed, means that an arena of engagement is created – separate from the rest of the park. This memorial can be seen as an activity on its own, both by location and design. It has been set aside, it is separated.

Stage 3: Re-enter the world as changed

Memorial gardens: leaving the memorial gardens brings you back out onto the paved avenue of other dedicated memorial gardens of similar seclusion. The question then apparent is 'which ones do I want to engage with, if any?' Each engagement can then be seen as affected by that first memorial garden, each choice to engage or not engage a follow-on choice, of which the previous engagement is an active factor.

Shot at Dawn: similarly, exit is by the same route as entry. Only, with this memorial the rest of the site is open to being affected by this engagement, as there are none of similar form or nature to which a response in intention can easily be directed to. The memorial's unique setting and method of engagement means that the rest of the assemblage falls into

the 'rest of this world' category about which the changed person will make decisions and choices of engagement.

The central, pivotal factor in both examples here is the monument contained within the secluded space. That being said it is engagement with the memorial, accessing the mnemonic nature of the memorial over which the visitor has no control, that constitutes a 'liminal learning', a learning that precludes a fully anticipated experience. This element of entering differently structured space to engage is an aspect that is worth contributing to a model of how memorial engagement can be seen as learning experientially (fig. 10).



Figure 10: Turner's 3 Stages through memorial engagement

Exploration of further concepts of experiential learning at the NMA

Recognising this personal aspect to memorial engagement, and the potential to mobilise mnemonic power in affecting the engager, demands consideration of Rogers' ideas of person-centred learning (1951). The learning must be personal, as the person is unique. This is not a calculated combination of mnemonic and pre-set person to produce a definite

result; the engagement, response and effect are variable. The causing factor of this variability is the person that engages. Forgetting the personal here is to forget something of the engagement with the memorial, and to ignore the personally engaging aspects of the memorials themselves. As the personal engagements vary, the memorials can be seen as equally variable (fig. 11)

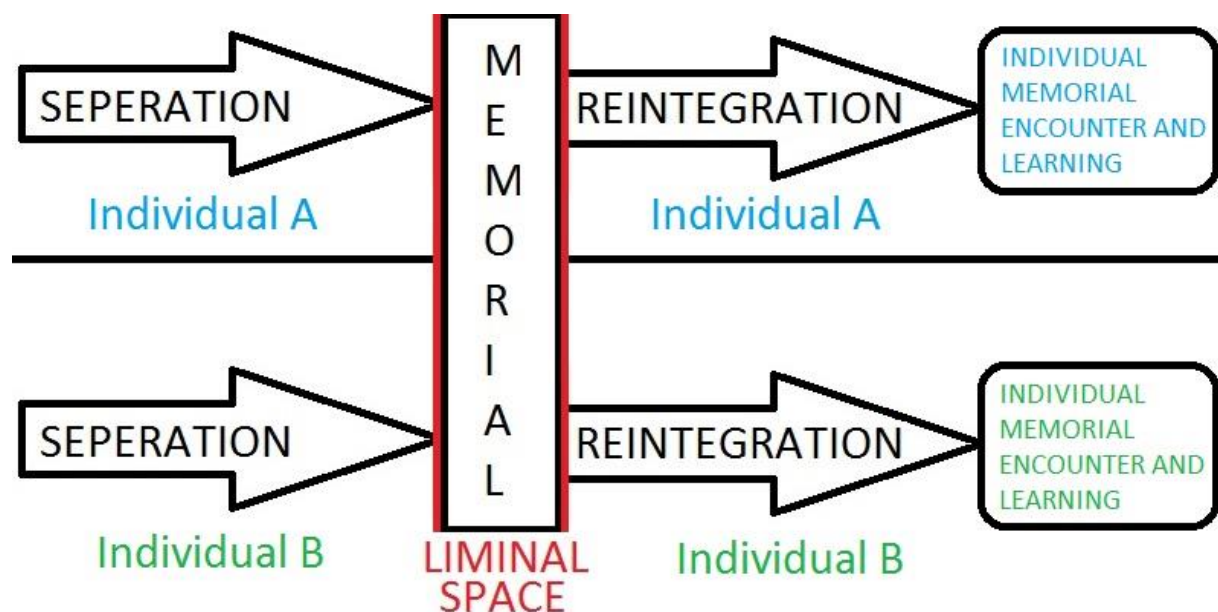


Figure 11: Individual monument encounters

Here then, in recognising the variability of monuments in the affecting of people engaging with them, a relevant question would be to ask if monuments are inciting learning in a way which is autocratic, democratic or laissez-faire (Lewin, Lippitt and White, 1939)? That is to say that the monuments being engaged with, the Shot at Dawn memorial for example, cannot be seen as limitless in mnemonic function. By their design they are limited; would it be valid to engage with this individual memorial and come away talking of revelation of the dangers of an unhealthy diet? Could that be credited to/blamed on this memorial? So then, could going to the Shot at Dawn and coming away saying that was the monument's revelatory affect be considered engagement with the memorial at all? At least, with that memorial that

others can perceive too? No, if that learning was made then it must be clear that something different was accessed than the memorial that others had approached and appreciated in the clearing.

There are limits on the mnemonic range of a memorial, as it their intent. The question on autocracy, democracy or laissez-faire, then, runs both ways between the memorial and the person. Just as the monument cannot demand an identical response from all people, so people cannot demand all meaning from a single memorial. Between the two players, there is a negotiation – a democratic process of mnemonic exchange. This aspect of mnemonic function reveals Dewey's 'education through interaction' (1897) within monument engagement, as well as the importance of seeing learners as whole people (1938) that must be considered as a partner within their own learning, rather than a victim of an invading force

Freedom of experience, or rather the inability to specifically direct or force a conclusion from memorial engagement is exactly the variability of learning that Jeffs and Smith refer to as the place of 'conversation' in learning (2008, 2011). Through conversation learning is shaped by both parties; it is more than just interaction – it is a meaningful exchange. It cannot be forced, just as engagement with the mnemonic power of memorial cannot be forced, and all that the NMA can serve to do is point the way. That means physically constructing the arboretum in such a way that encourages engagement and 'conversation' (or exchange), linking areas of the park so that memorials have proximity to others, but also allowing those spaces to be free or unstructured enough to allow unexpected or unanticipated learning or engagement to take place (fig. 12).

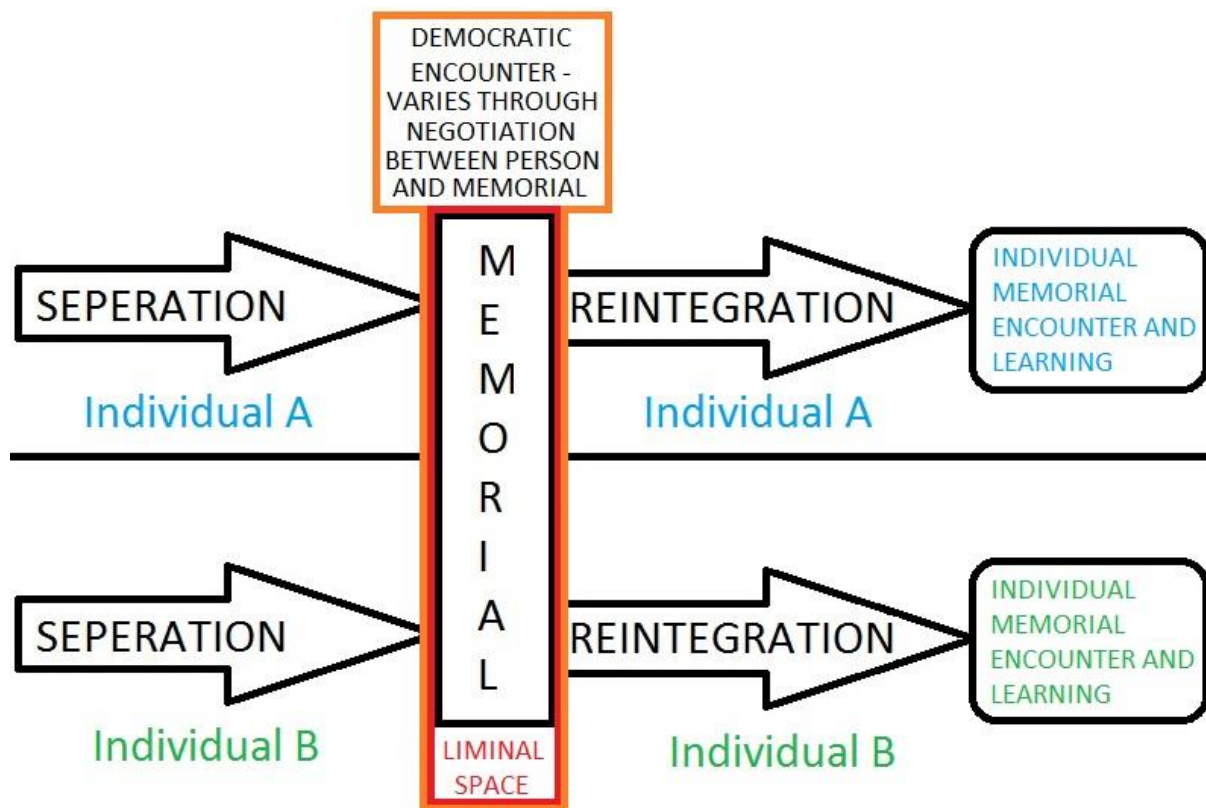


Figure 12: Democratic monument encounter

The most free and unstructured spaces of the NMA are those used to move around the site; the pathways and open grass areas on which are placed certain individual memorials. It seems that in this space there is no memorial interaction, other than the brief passing by or spotting at a distance an interesting looking memorial. To go over and engage with a memorial is optional here, the freedom of the space allows for a respite from mnemonic exchanges. This would mean then, as a person moves around the site, that the experience of engagement has been momentarily (at least) put in the past. It could be in these spaces that we see an element of reflection on what has been engaged with, how we engaged with it and what the resulting effect was. A reflection on feelings then may be possible or, even, necessary as a person journeys from memorial engagement to another possibly meaningful or affecting engagement. The NMA, then, is ideally set up for the kind of reflection espoused by Boud,

Keogh and Walker (1985), it is a ‘mulling over’ with regards to what feelings were in play during an experience. Engagement with our own feelings may be difficult within a mnemonic engagement, as there is already a dialogue negotiating the pressures for our attention and thought. It may be, then, that the NMA provides both arenas to engage and arenas to reflect. One facilitates the other, which may then necessitate or demand the other again. In looking back, and around, a person may then be able to move forward in engaging further in the memorial landscape (fig. 13).

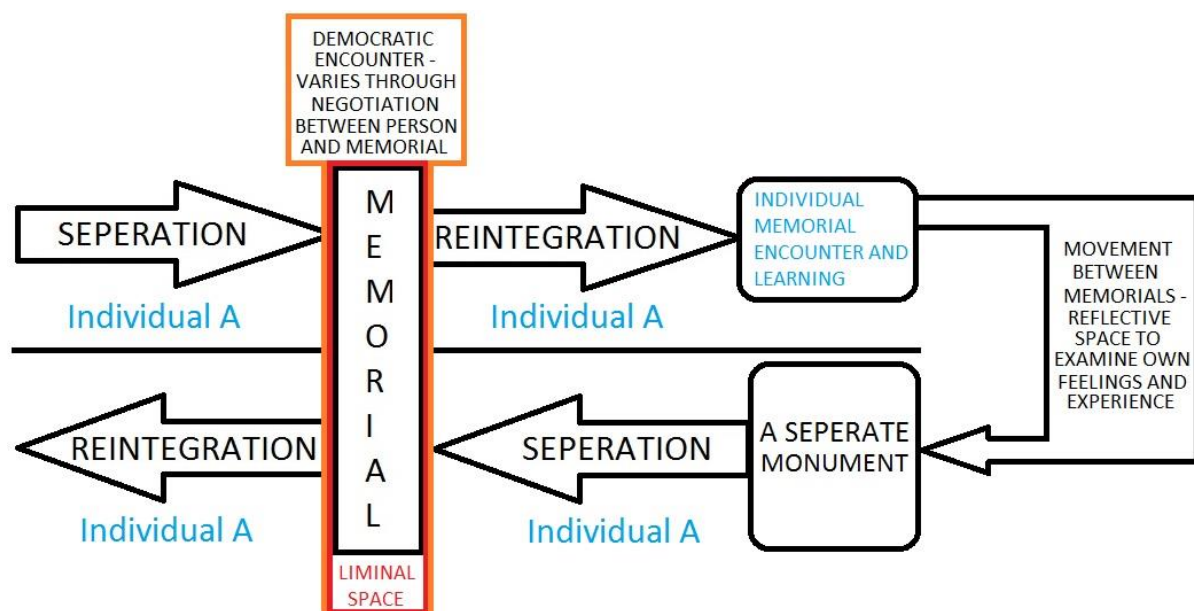


Figure 13: Movement between memorials

It is in this journey between monument interactions and encounters that Kolb’s experiential learning cycle (1984) can be mapped onto the memorial landscape of the NMA. There are four stages to the learning cycle: 1) concrete experience 2) observation and reflection 3) generalization and abstract conceptualization and 4) active experimentation. Each new engagement with a memorial can be seen as experimentation (step 4) which then leads, through the unique nature of the engagement due to both the memorial’s mnemonic

power and the individual's engagement, to a new concrete experience. Moving from memorial to memorial, seeing links in theme, approach, aesthetic or even in personal response to each engagement leads a visitor to conceptualise and experiment with their previous experiences on the next encounter (fig. 14). It is baggage collected as one moves around the site, baggage comprising of new resources with which to interrogate and converse with the next memorial in interaction. This loop of experiential learning, then, becomes a spiral of learning and monument engagement. An evolutionary and expanding spiral, contributed to as much by the memorials as by the visitor; as the NMA is further engaged with the effect of the monuments begin to work together in a multiplying effect. This is not collecting monument topics, but engagement with the commemorated as well as the act of commemoration itself.

I has been said earlier in this section that transformation or change can be alluded to by the mere presence of monument interaction. Different monuments may make a visitor interact with other memorials in the park differently because of the nature of that previous interaction. They may pursue memorial interaction to seek a common experience, or seek to avoid another traumatic engagement. Nevertheless, a person who has engaged with a memorial's mnemonic power is not the same person as the one who has not, no matter the change. It is difficult then, given the variable nature of a person's collective experience on the site of the NMA to point towards the possibility of 'transformational learning' that both Mezirow (1991) and Freire (1973, 1975) espouse as being central to experiential learning and *real* education. Is it possible then that the boundaries of this learning experience, through monument engagement, for this study have been too limited? If the NMA functions as a memorial landscape, within which a variety of interconnected memorials create an variety of

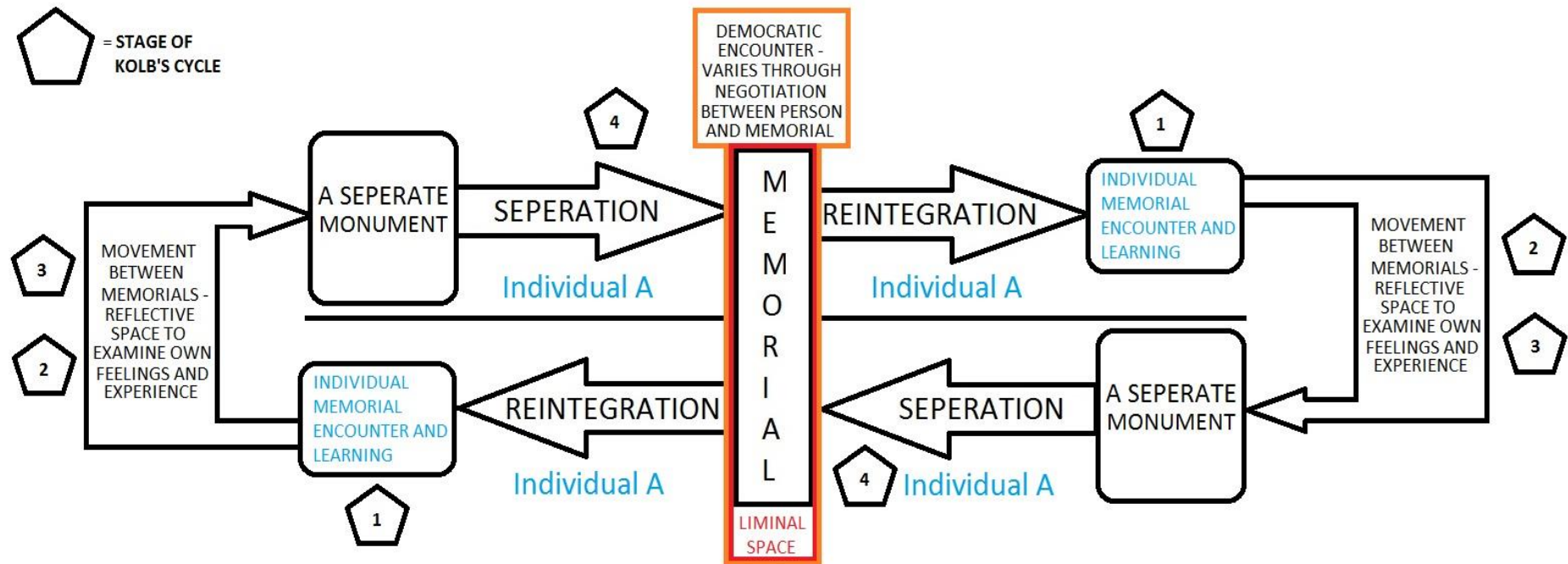


Figure 14: Kolb's learning cycle in monument encounters

interconnected mnemonic learning experiences, then shouldn't we look at the whole experience as a learning meta-engagement with commemoration? To engage with the NMA as a whole, through engaging with its distinctive composite parts, may then leave the kind of overarching, transformative learning these authors draw attention to out in the car park, or in the journey home. Such a question is obviously beyond the scope of this paper but, nevertheless, consideration of this possibility going forwards (held as supposition) may yet prove useful in learning more about how memorial function is at play within the NMA.

Ritual Spaces

Just as in exploring the literature or ritual spaces, it is necessary in applying previous works to the observations made at the NMA to separate the discussion into two separate sections. This segregation of literature which describes spaces that encourage ritual and ritual claiming spaces will give clarity to the aspects of each theory that applies to the memorial practice found at the NMA.

As with the previous section, any particularly relevant aspect of the comparison between literature and findings will be conceptualised in diagrammatical form, in an effort to accumulate a better understanding of what kind of space the NMA may be. I will then attempt, if possible, to knit together these two conceptual diagrams describing the NMA from two different theoretical fields in order to create a model how the NMA and the memorials on the site create a 'bounded learning space'.

Spaces encouraging ritual

Within the enclosed memorials at the NMA, it is clear to see that a 'lens of ritual space', as Smith (1987) describes, could be in play. The 'lens' is the aspect through which a person can access ritual in a space with intentionality and an understanding of purpose. The construction, seclusion and design of the enclosed memorial gardens, especially their aspects

of being segregated or set aside, serve to introduce the visitor to the nature of the space. It builds the lens through which the monument, or text, can be viewed. To continue the metaphor of the lens, if the memorial was taken out of this sacred, at least set aside, space it would be easy to understand that encounters with it may be somewhat 'out of focus', or profane.

This can be applied directly to my observations of the 'open memorials' being engaged with in a fleeting or passing manner. If the approach leading to and the enclosure of these memorial gardens creates a lens that can be used to access ritual, it stands to reason that those without that created space may not benefit from the same access; their potential for ritual engagement is lessened. Within the NMA, in the manner they have created them, dedicated spaces create this 'lens to ritual', a space of appreciation or intent (fig. 15).

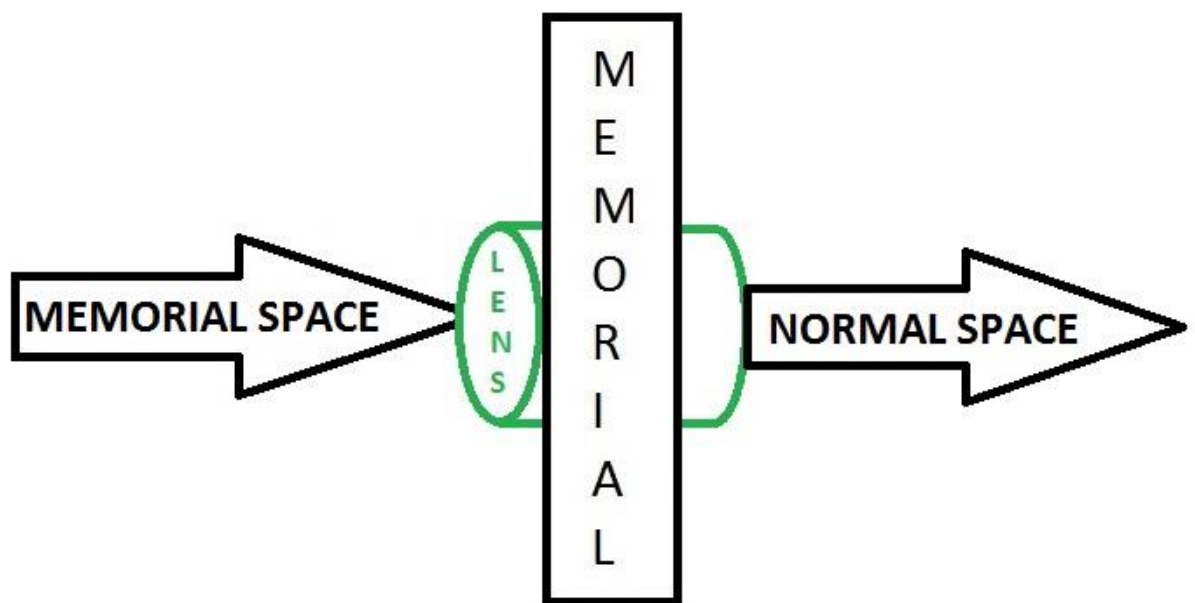


Figure 15: Ritual lens

The Children's Memorial Woodland area is an interesting example with which to examine Grimes' proposal that one person's idea of the sacred is another person's idea of the profane (1999). The area is a contrasting combination of memorialised trees, benches and other structures within the same space as the picnic area and a permanent, constructed children's play set. Is this a clash of the sacred and the profane, a mingling of the sacred in the profane or a claiming of profane action in sacred space to facilitate a memorial engagement? Children play here, children are remembered here; people remember children here, people spend time with their children here. If there is mnemonic or ritual meaning on one set of characteristics of this space and not the other set (memorial significance more in dedicated trees than spending time with children in that space) is not a web I am able to untangle from my distanced, theoretical viewpoint. Nevertheless, this space is a place when the sacred and the profane meet; are in tension. Is it appropriate for children to be at play and make noise here, it is a place of remembrance after all? Is it appropriate for those remembering to expect a quiet environment, it is a play area after all? Or, does this combination of those two aspects gel the sacred and profane together? Sacred play, to be engaged with just as much as any other memorial. Again, to conclude this would be a particular overstretch, but to suppose it is certainly interesting. What can be said is that sacred and profane both active players in this space, in tension or balance in some way (fig. 16).

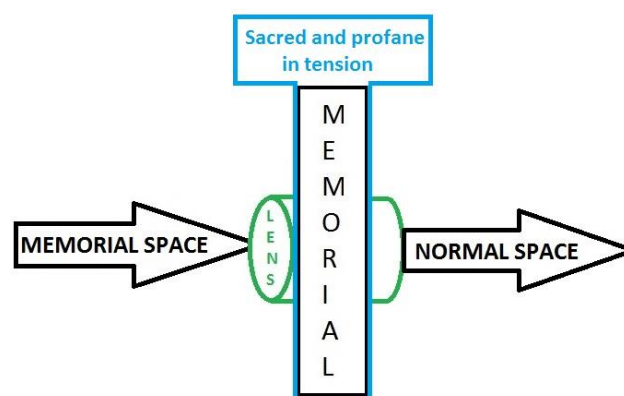


Figure 16: Balance of the sacred and profane

Design implicitly directs the nature of a ritual encounter, and the ritualising of the space reinforces the space's design features, that is the argument of Bloch-Smith (2002). She analysis design features of Solomon's Temple in encouraging particular rituals, observing that the practice of those rituals make the Temple decoration significant and meaningful. Looking at the design features of the Armed Forces Memorial, specifically the sculptural features of the two depicted scenes of loss and the central wreath, this aspect of design-action interplay can be recognised. To take the wreath, it is a recognised symbol of how we remember the war dead in the UK. The annual practice of Remembrance Sunday, in which wreaths such as the one depicted are laid at war memorials to commemorate the loss of soldiers in conflicts of the past and present, gives rise to this bronze wreath as a symbol of our own commemorative practice. This association gives rise to an understanding that the space is designed for this purpose. Coupled with the listing of the names of those lost in conflict since 1945 and the scenes of military loss depicted by the sculpture and the space is given a definite and specific ritual purpose; the remembering of these war dead. The design of the memorial directs engagement with it. This understood purpose, in turn, provides significance for these design elements – not only generally but also these specific instances of design. In this ritual space these specific elements are significant because they create the arena of engagement in which they are present (fig. 17).

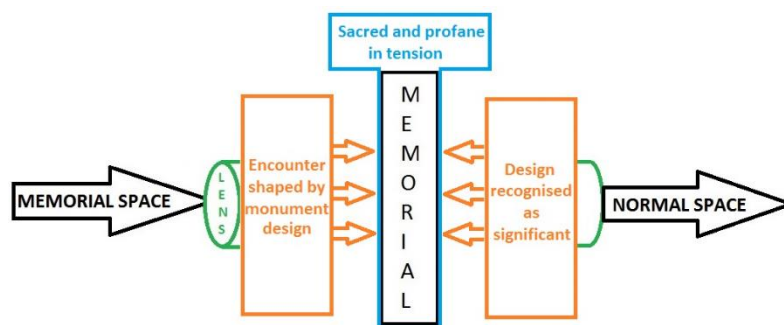


Figure 17: Two way interaction with design

It is Moore's understanding of the importance of 'bounded space' (1908) that may give clarity to how this significance-making could occur repeatedly within one site. A bounded space, one with a specific boundary that must be crossed in a particular manner to be entered, makes a resource of this boundary. This boundary gives rise to the space's ability to adapt, to become significant in whichever way it is directed. The boundary separates a 'normal' space from an 'other' space. It is this otherness, this boundary made secluded space, which is up for grabs in being made ritually significant by design features that will become significant through the practice of ritual. In Moore's case, the 'other' space is Disney World. The space is designed to incite reaction, engagement and play and the design features used to do so are then considered meaningful. At the NMA, each set aside space contains design features specific to the memorial contained which work to promote engagement with that memorial. There are multiple bounded spaces within the NMA, meaning that a range of ritual arenas can be created for the purpose of engagement with each of the varying, enclosed memorials. The boundary, though, is key to making that significant space perceivable (fig. 18).

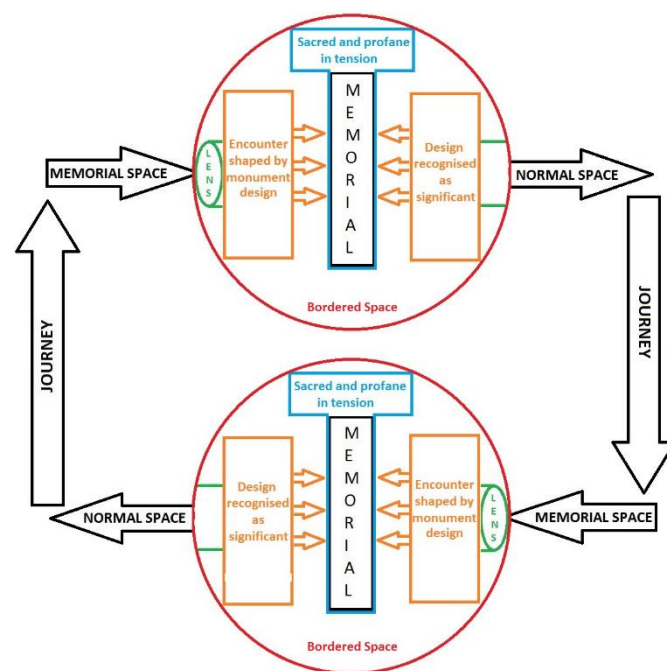


Figure 18: Separated bordered spaces with journey between

More widely across the NMA, outside of any one memorial example, the repetition of Bloch-Smith's design-ritual paradigm can go some way to signal what Joiner (1971) and Wilson (1967) both refer to as a social 'ambiance' created by designed spaces. This ambiance can be seen as being created throughout the site, layout and memorial placement suggesting acceptable and anticipated action in a wide sense. This is a space for moving between and engaging with memorials of the past, there is an 'ambiance' which promotes engagement simply by the creation of this assemblage of memorials (fig. 19). The Armed Forces Memorial is particularly relevant again here, as it is visible from many areas of the site, raised on a mound which means the highest point is the metallic tip of the obelisk within. It serves not only as a locational landmark but also as a mnemonic one; no matter the individual memorial experience the visual link to the Armed Forces Memorial creates mnemonic links to it and to the rest of the site. This ambiance, which the authors note can work to encourage as well as forbid action, must be seen as a pressure on the individual engaging with the NMA as a whole; their experience in engaging with any one specific memorial must form part of a tapestry of moving through the NMA as a memorial landscape (Tilley, 1996).

Ritual claiming spaces

The discussion above affirms Bell's (1992) concept of ritual forging the spaces around them, with the added aspect of space forging ritual in response. At the NMA, the process of 'space forging' may be seen to be stifled due to the nature of the constructed memorial gardens, the created memorials and the set pathways and routes by which the site is accessed. This space is not the property of the visitors and so their ritual may shape it less than in other settings or personal ritual.

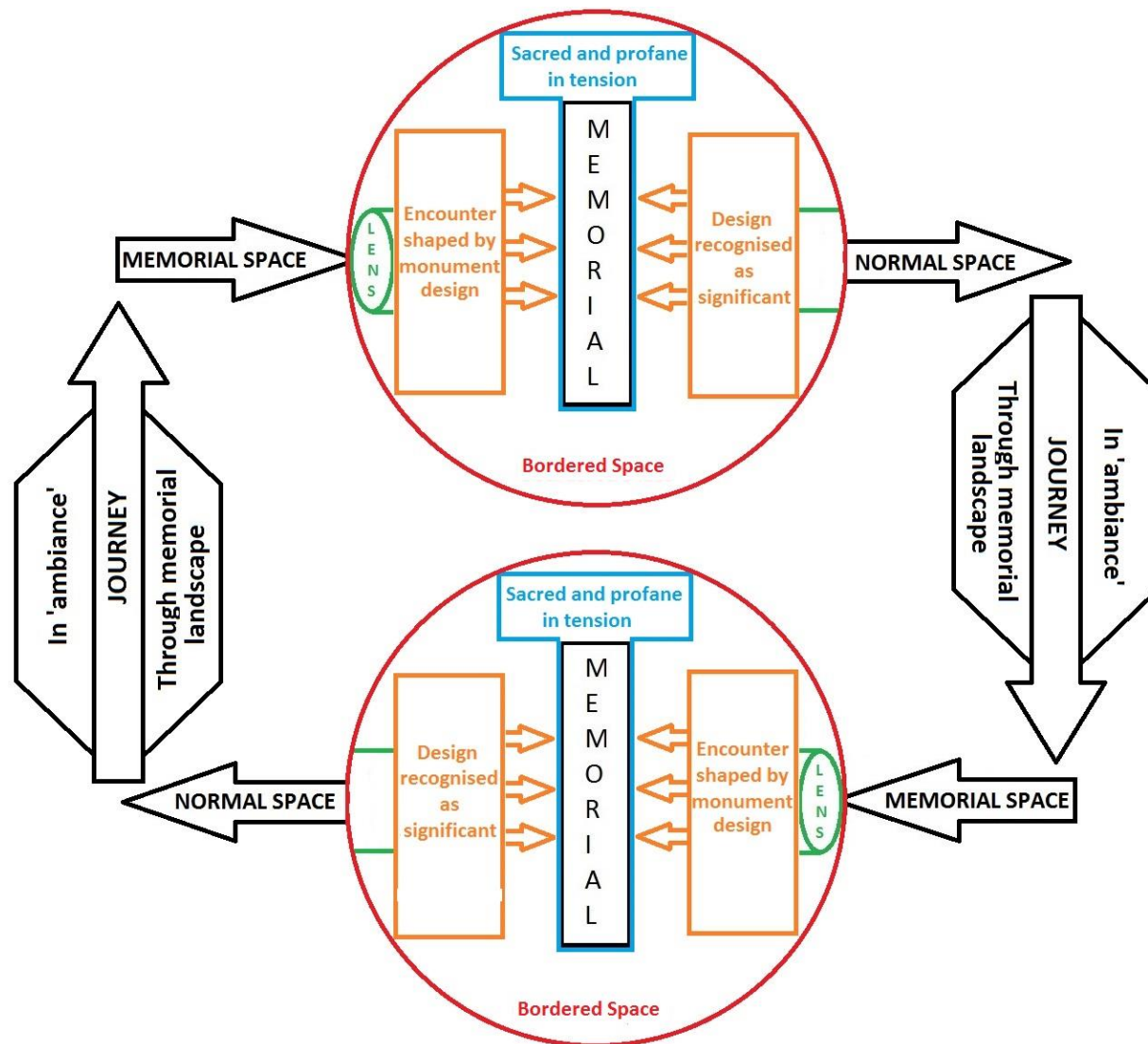


Figure 19: Inclusion of 'ambiance'

It is in choice, though, of journeying through the site, of which memorials to engage with and which not to that forging a space may be seen. Or rather, spaces are activated to their purpose by the choice to engage and move from one to another. This raises the idea of mobile ritual space that Madeleine proposes (2001). If the journey of a person through the NMA, from one engagement to the next, can be seen as a journeying towards the next memorial experience then the process could be regarded as a number of pilgrimages. Pilgrimages towards memorial engagement. This is different from the experience of a person who comes to engage with a specific memorial, whose memorial journey (or pilgrimage) would have begun before entering the NMA. A person, though, who is moving through this memorial landscape in a series of mnemonic encounters must create a personal, mobile ritual space. This is a forging of space by ritual; a claiming of the site by individuals in their own individual journey through and to these places memorials. This links obviously to my application of both Wilson and Joiner's concepts of 'ambience'; that in the 'in-between' journeying through the NMA a personal ritual space can be created which is in part shaped by the 'ambience' created by the memorials which form the NMA (fig. 20).

Here is identified another point of interest within the memorial practice of the NMA; how is it that people who are directly connected to those being commemorated and those that have no direct link to them able to make use of the same commemorative and memorial space and functions? Timberg (1987) in the particularly unique example of watching chat shows might give an insight into this. In his example, watching a broadcast by a celebrity chat show host links you to that person through a social ritual. That social ritual is one by which the viewer affirms both their own social standing as well as the social standing of the host.

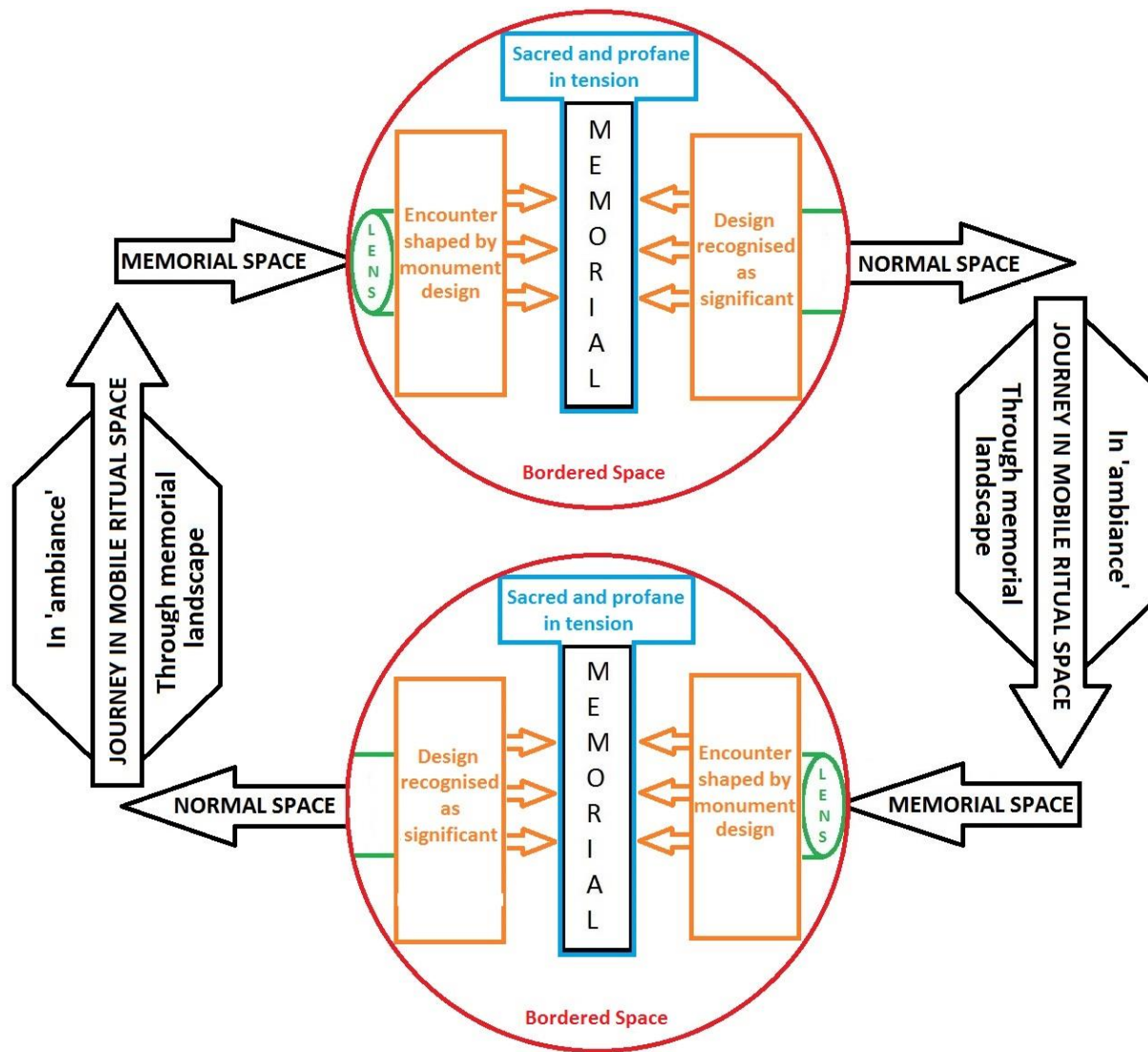


Figure 20: Portable ritual space

Unexpectedly, this is directly relevant to the NMA. For a person who is making a specific journey towards a specific memorial experience, the ritual and the memorial serve as a connection; a point of contact, not only to the individual but to a whole host of social associations (manner of death, manner of life, public recognition etc.) which come from engaging with a memorial placed in a memorial landscape. For the visitor with no such personal link to the commemorated, the question remains to be asked through memorial interaction, 'who is this person to me?' It is a question which locates both the visitor and the commemorated in a social relationship, which must play a part in accessing the mnemonic power of an individual memorial (fig. 21).

Social identity, in relation to the commemorated or otherwise, is brought with the visitor to the NMA. It cannot be resisted, as it is a part of how people engage in a ritual space (Duncan AND Wallach, 1978; Duncan, 1991). In these two works, Duncan laments the art gallery's attempts to make all visitors equal so that their experiences may be better shaped or particular responses encouraged. These lamentations stem from the understanding that social identity and personal ritual are resources that cannot be parted with, even in a specific ritual space. To pretend that all people approach a ritual encounter, or in the NMA's case a monument landscape, as equal is not only to deny the truth of the individual but to aim for a situation in which no one person would be genuinely engaged. It would constitute an act, a pretence. We must approach as we are, in order to encounter. At the NMA these aspects of social identity act as a resource, as seen above in consideration of Timberg's work, allowing us to place ourselves in relation to the commemorated. However, Duncan also observes that this social identity aspect to the approach to ritual is also problematic (1991). In her example, it is through social identity that some people are deemed more qualified in engaging with works of art. There could be comparison here, in that some visitors may seem to have more

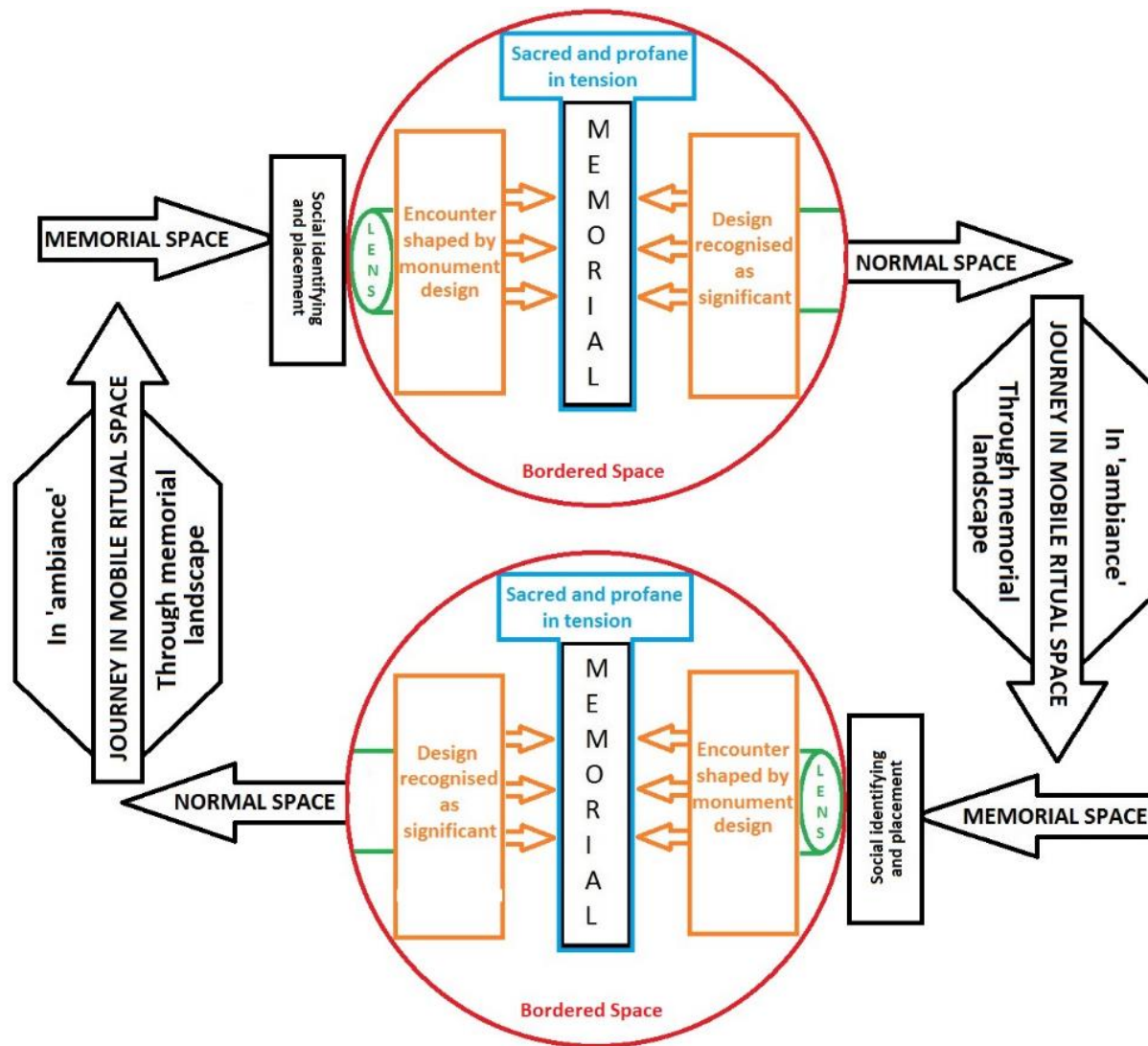


Figure 21: Encounter is socially identifying

of a right of access or engagement with memorials at the NMA than others, but that comparison would rely upon the perceptions of different groups of visitors of each other rather than simply my own point of view.

Leading on from the theme of individualised commemoration practice within the fixed memorial spaces of the NMA, Duncan's understanding that ritual action does not need to be uniformed, or even recognisable to others, comes into play (1995). At the SANDS memorial for example, as with at many other locations across the site, flowers are often laid at the centre of the memorial garden, on the stone sculpture of a very young child. That is not to say that this is the way to engage with this memorial. Sitting on the bench within the garden, reading other commemorative stones, placing a stone or simply entering into the space may all be ritual action which facilitate memorial engagement. A recognised action is not necessary, but action comes from the person responding to the space and memorial. And again, the space is characterised by the actions it incites (Kapferer, 1979).

Creating a combined model of monument engagement at the NMA

In seeking to bind together the two conceptualised processes of monument engagement (Fig M and Fig E) it is important not to combine any aspects that are located at different points within that experience; in combining two diagrammatically close elements an unwanted combination of concepts could occur. In doing this, then, it is important to have an anchor by which the conceptual models can locate themselves. Fortunately for this study the 'memorial' and the 'person' are both common and key factors to each depictions of memorial engagement. It is by these conceptual landmarks that the two models are able to be merged into forming a more holistic model of memorial engagement at the NMA (fig. 22).

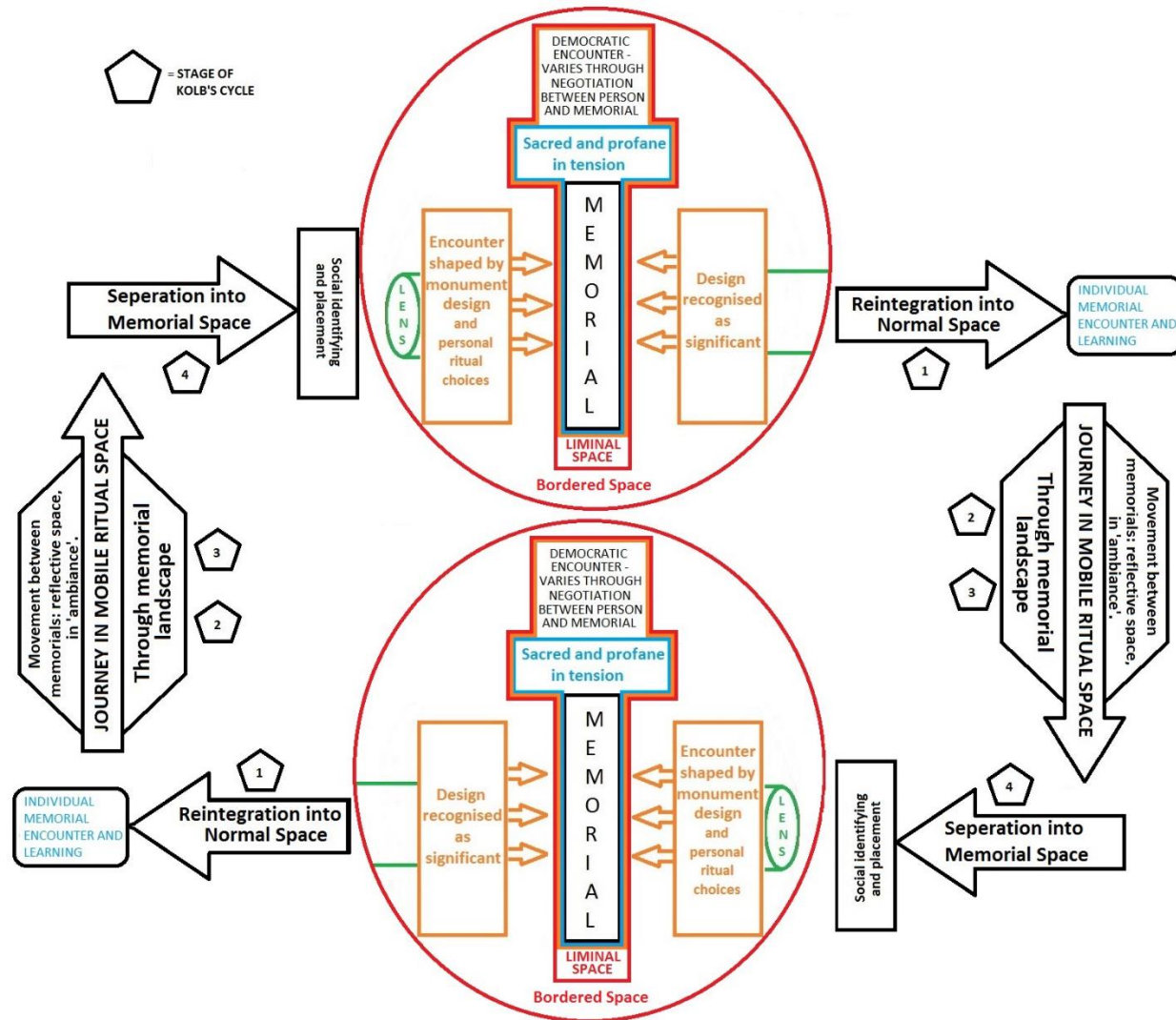


Figure 22: Combined model of monument engagement

Using this model to address monuments at the NMA

To have created a model showing the manner by which memorial function is being accessed at the NMA, as well as outlining some of the characteristics (in terms of learning and ritual) of this engagement and the site itself, will prove useful in looking at what placement at the NMA means for the memorials housed here (fig. 22). Before looking at this, though, it makes sense that this model should stand up to comparison with what has been previously observed and theorized about the NMA itself. That is to say that a model describing the NMA's mode of monument engagement should envelop or at least correlate with what has previously been observed about the site. Namely, does Gough and Williams' work support or refute my theorization of the NMA? Instead of creating diagrams to compare each idea, which would result in a great many more diagrams that could be useful, and so a textual interrogation will be used in relation to the proposed model (fig. 22). This theory is not looking to add to the model of memorial engagement being created here, rather to examine it.

Application of previous works to the proposed model of monument engagement at the NMA

The first observation to be applied to this model of memorial interaction at the NMA is that of Gough's (1998), which is that memorial gardens, specifically those containing memorials to war dead, are 'dramaturgical spaces'. There are spaces of performative remembrance; a person making use of the memorial space is balancing their own commemorative ritual with the presented space and memorial. It is an act of wills meeting in the same space, the will of the organization, nation or group that created the memorial and the will of the person engaging with it. Within the model, this consideration has been referred to as the 'democratic encounter' within the memorial space. Gough, however, has given a more comprehensive understanding of the origins of the factors at play within negotiation. In understanding that the limitations of the monument have been purposefully created in order

to serve a particular function, we may seek to further understand the mnemonic power or associations carried by the monument itself. In terms of learning and ritual, being aware of these pressures of representation by a monument's originators makes the interaction even more democratic, turning what could be a covert pressure into an overt resource.

Detail is also given by Gough to the nature of the memorial landscape, which has been shown to directly affect the nature of monument engagement with the site. Gough's observations that the NMA's being an arboretum (2004, 449) links the fragile state of nature to that of the human existence, providing surrounding themes of life, death and renewal to those moving through the site. This does not in any way contradict what can be seen within the created model, it only serves to colour further the detail of the journey – or rather provide an example of in what way moving through this landscape prepares a visitor for monument engagement. The same is true of his comment that many of the growing, living designs will not be established until long after the designers are dead (2004, 449). Both of these are observations left to be made by the visitor engaging with the site as a whole, observations that will affect that person entering memorial engagements.

Individual memorial gardens constituting "theatres of memory", another observation of Gough's (2004, 449), serves to comment on what is shown in the model as the 'bordered space'. For a performative space (or to use Gough's earlier phrase a 'dramaturgical' space) to be useful it must have a setting. That is to say that the space must be set for that performance to occur. This is clearly supportive of the understanding that memorial engagement in this setting relies upon boundaries; borders of activity or engagement. That is to say that 'theatres' must have a set stage. We can see from the model, coupled with Gough's analysis

of gardens of memorial forming 'theatres of memory', the NMA constitutes a plethora of theatres of memory on one site.

Gough's final contributions go beyond the scope of the study, that is that the NMA fits the description of a 'heterotopia' as given by Foucault; a space in which time, memory and meaning work differently (Foucault, 1968; as cited in Gough, 2004, 449). This looks at the NMA as a single entity, containing all of the activity, ritual, remembrance and learning being done across the site. The NMA itself is a bordered site, and within those borders an accumulation of facilitated ritual, as well as the memorials themselves, create this "single, utopian space (Foucault, 1968). Gough later rephrases this same observation, whilst giving further detail to the results of the border; the NMA attempts "to slow the real anxiety of erasure to 'stop the clock' so as to preserve the eternal" (2005, 12). What is interesting here is that he references the memorials, or the memory that they transport, as eternal. They are eternal and yet the NMA must make attempts to preserve them by including them in the bounded landscape of memorial and memory. Williams rightly follows this same track, observing that the NMA functions as a conservation centre for lost and homeless memorials, acting as somewhat of a 'zoo' (2014b, 83). These considerations do not address the engagement of memorials within the site, but instead the nature of the site itself. As has been shown, moving through the site does affect memorial engagement (by the site's nature) and so how the NMA is perceived as a whole is inextricably linked to what we might observe as the mnemonic function or role of the monuments housed here. Thus, Williams and Gough have shown this model to be wanting, with no considerations of the NMA as an institution which, by my own demonstration, has been shown to be important.

Williams' 'web of association' (2014a) is an interesting concept when viewed alongside the model of monument engagement presented here; it is supportive of the model but for entirely different reasons. Williams' assertion and analysis is that through the repeated use of themes, symbols and materials the NMA has linked monuments together, bound them by their composition, and that monuments serve to reference each other through this link. This web of association, however, is reliant on the perception of the person engaging with each memorial. The proposed model supports the theory of monuments forming associations, even complex enough associations to constitute a web, but through an individual engaging with memorials and forming those associations as they go. The model is much more relativist than Williams has been, in that it allows for associations to be built through any facet of the visitor's observation. That is to say that each visitor may well form entirely different webs of association across the NMA, happily unaware that a person visiting the site the day before created entirely different associations between the same monuments. The web of associations, here, is not waiting to be found but waiting to be made through engagement. If then, we take the person engaging with the NMA with the proposed model to be Williams himself, this article (2014a) can be seen as *his* well-documented account of the 'web of association' that he observed through his engagement with the memorials at the NMA. This does not serve to weaken Williams' or anyone else's observations made at the NMA, but only serves to highlight the part that individuals and their own point of view must play in engaging with memorials and interpreting their associations.

Williams' next article (2014b) on the topic takes us one step further in looking as how monuments are associated. The focus moves to the reuse of materials in creating new monuments situated at the NMA, as well as the relocation of memorials in whole to the NMA. Again, this is a detailed account of the specific monuments found within the NMA, with

biographical accounts of how they, or a composite part of it, came to be within the arboretum. The associations created here, through referencing other locations by monumental reuse, are beyond the scope of the model created by this project to address. What is seen by Williams, however, is that this practice of relocation and reuse sets the NMA up as two things; a centre of memorialization in the UK and a site of commemoration the practice and method of commemoration. Williams' conclusions, then, link the very centre of the model's described monument encounters (being 'shaped by monument design') and describes links to locations far beyond, with implications for the nature of the NMA as a site. Again, this does not serve to negate any of the ideas collated within the model, but to give a further dimension to the personal, memorial engagement process available at the NMA.

Harris and Sørensen (2010) put forward a term for the associations created through the relocation and reuse of monuments, that being the 'emotive field'. These are links created between groups, places and memorialized people through the continued use of redirected or recreated memorials. Linking Williams' 'web of association' between monuments within the same arena (the NMA (Williams, 2014a)) to Harris and Sørensen's 'emotive field' draws a picture that through the use of monuments, and reuse of them for other purposes or in other places, links of commonality are created. Barrett calls this a 'field of discourse', an environment of common language or attention, created by different people engaging with the same monuments. This is problematic when put to use within the model; the model created here proposes that personal, individualistic links can be made between monuments, and that these links serve as resource in engaging with the other monuments encountered. Barrett, however, asserts that a commonality should be created by people engaging with these memorials, because they are the same memorial. A commonality of language, meaning and attention should emerge – the 'field of discourse'. This could again speak to the practice

of the NMA as an institution; if heritage practices and resource are such that memorials are presented as being singularly of one purpose of meaning, then Barrett's common discourse could be what is being reached for. This is far beyond the scope of this project, but the model has shown that individuality of engagement is key, and so if further study revealed a commonality in response and dialogue to the NMA as a whole, we must look outside of the processes described with in for the cause.

Being monumental at the NMA

This model, in looking to describe or characterize the nature of memorial interaction at the NMA, must be able to aide in exploring what it means for a memorial to be housed there. This method, of starting with the site, application of theory from related fields, conceptualization and re-examination of that same site might yield new understanding of the original site. By doing this, three points regarding the nature of monuments held at the NMA are apparent:

1. Memorials are mobilized in multiple ways

Memorials are given individual spaces to occupy, specific arenas in which people engage with them as part of their journey through the site. This is a deliberate and designed move to build a space for people to encounter that specific memorial. This is a mobilization, by the NMA, that allows for the design and mnemonic factors of each memorial to be most affecting. The memorials create more of an impact because of the space they have been given to act in.

As well as this, though, monuments are mobilized by being placed in an arboretum with other memorials in other such spaces. To be given a space is one thing, but to be given a space within a series, within a memorial landscape through which people move on a journey of

accumulating remembrance is a resource for the monument's mnemonic potential. This move implies, if not provides, an introduction to the engagement that is possible with each memorial.

Memorials benefit from a meeting of the 'sacred and profane'. In an act of contrast, memorial spaces are made further sacred by the tension of sacred and profane elements of the NMA, and of engagement in general. Through maintaining a combination of woodland, paved and open grass environments within which these monuments have place, space is created outside of specific memorial spaces. This 'normal' space is vital in facilitating engagement with a 'memorial' space. Through creating these borders the NMA emphasizes, and allows visitors the reflective room to be able to prepare for, the potential of memorial engagement.

2. Memorials are exposed to engagement of all types.

Individual approaches to memorials within the landscape of the NMA is the vital step in recognizing effective engagement experiences with the monuments there, but also opens memorials, and those commemorated, up to engagements that would not have been welcomed by those creating the monument. This ties directly into the idea of 'democratic' encounters, that is encounters with memorials shaped both by the visitor and the memorial itself, but warns that this expectation of observation of creators' intentions may well be optimistic. Whether due to factors of political belief, education or simply temperament or because of an association the memorial has by being within the memorial landscape of the NMA these memorials are exposed to any manner of potential engagements, mnemonic

hijackings or misunderstandings. Whether it would be correct to call one response wrong or another right is, again, beyond the scope of this project's aims.

3. Preservation comes from promotion. Promotion comes from place

For the mnemonic power of the monuments at the NMA to be preserved, they require the types of promotion, or mobilization, described above. These are acts of both activation and preservation. To go further, the factor that is most pivotal in these acts of mobilization is that the monuments have been given a space, given a place, at the NMA. Whilst it may be the memorials that create the memorial landscape we describe as the NMA, it is placement within that memorial landscape which provides sustenance for the commemorative work being done by each memorial. It is a symbiotic relationship of association between the NMA and its memorials.

Conclusion

This project, an application of learning and ritual theory and concepts onto the physical memorial landscape in order to create a model of memorial engagement, has achieved its aims. Through the conceptualization of this memorial engagement process and creation of a descriptive model (fig. 22) we are able to better observe the role that a monument placed within an arena such as the NMA (a multifaceted memorial landscape and arena for remembering). Not only this, but this analysis has examined and revealed the importance of the role of the individual in these mnemonic functions than has been previously discussed. Working to examine the changes, learning, ritual space used and memorial experience of those moving through the NMA must be seen as crucial factor to the continuing memorial biographies of all of the monuments at the NMA.

One of the weaknesses of this model is the inclusion of Turner's 'liminal' stage. That is not to say that the theory is not applicable or itself defunct, but that it opens the model up to a host of theoretical and conceptual avenues about what this space might mean. For this model, the term 'liminal' has retained two of Turner's core understandings of the term; 1) it is a limen (threshold) that is passed through, taking a person from one place to another 2) it is outside of 'common' structures, in a created space of anti-structure. Further examination of the 'liminal' aspect of this engagement model is required, in reference to people's concrete experiences at the NMA and other memorial structures, to further clarify the nature of this space in memorial engagement. Huntingdon and Metcalf (1979) comment that the nature of liminal spaces (or stages) can be so elaborate that they themselves gain their own autonomy and efficacy outside of the three stage ritual. This is a possibility at the NMA that would reveal a flaw in this model's conceptualization of engagement, as well as a danger for the site itself in compromising the body of memorials in order to emphasize one particular memorial engagement experience. Examining the NMA under these circumstances, applying this model to a situation of compromise such as that, would be a very interesting situation and development for the understanding of managed memorial engagement.

Another failing of this model is that although it has been formed through experience of the NMA in collision with learning and ritual theory it has not yet been applied to the memorials of the NMA to examine what each stage looks like in reality. It is in this manner of exploration that more specific aspects of individual memorials' characteristics and effects may be mapped and compared between people; aspects of social significance (Hope, 1997; 2003), the changing role of monuments over time (Holtorf, 1996; Moreland, 1999) and how memorials link the past to the future (Holtorf, 1996) are exemplary of aspects of memorial function currently beyond this conceptual model. To reveal features such as these,

application is necessary which, as has been said, is beyond this project. The reasoning for this is simple, it would involve the direct partnership of visitors to the NMA as being action researchers in engaging with memorials and contributing to the application of this model, which alongside development of the model itself is far beyond what can be done in this project, but necessary in future research into the NMA.

The NMA is a place where people can come to discover their engagement with memorials, rather learn about someone else's. In effect, through encouraging examination, exploration and engagement with memorials across the site the NMA as an institution is encouraging multiple, personal, daily archaeologies of memory. Each person that has their memorial engagement shaped by the design aspect of the site, the memorial or the space it's found in is engaging with a process of discovering the link between the materiality of this monument object and a group of commemorated people – learning more of the idea of commemoration as encounters unfold. A 'informal resource for the exploration of archaeology of memory' is perhaps a more laborious title than the NMA, but if as a heritage organization the NMA manages to capture this explorative and creative aspect to their visitor's experiences we may well make leaps and bounds in understanding the roles of memorials in the UK, the citizen archaeologists of the NMA being the key researchers and experts. They are, after all, experts of their own experience and understanding.

In Williams' latest article on the NMA he comments on the benefits that an archaeological approach to a multi-disciplinary conversation on sites such as the NMA can have (Williams, 2014b, 99). That a focus on materiality and rationality between monuments, such as the archaeological perspective maintains, can reveal links of significance (both monumental and social) that would otherwise go unobserved. The model created through

this project has shown that Williams is right, than an archaeological perspective of the NMA can reveal the nature of memorial function, but that we should be looking more to the experience of all than the expertise of some to see the fruits of these daily archaeological explorations at the NMA.

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